9: Yamasaki--233 N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosan Aborigines
436

There are also many deer (Cervus Swinhoii), very similar to the Japanese Cervus sika, and also antelopes. The hides and antlers of the deer play a big part among the mountain dwellers as articles of barter.

16: Müller--234-235 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436

The aborigines are not familiar with the use of money. For trade among themselves they use small pieces of shell money in the shape of beads which they carry on a string. The value of their currency is determined by the bintuan, a square piece of cloth as long and wide as the lower part of the arm, covered with shell beads of the type used for currency. One bintuan is worth about eight Mark. A woman is worth about 250 bintuan, a brass kettle about 1/2 bintuan, etc. Today these coins are no longer [236] made and they are used only for very important transactions such as buying a wife, a rifle, or for paying a penalty.

The usual medium of exchange today is cloth.

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

"Our acino (of shells fashioned like glass beads and attached to China grass cloth) also come from the hontōjin. [MC: Formosan Chinese] Like the other things, we buy them from the hontōjin. These acino are put to use. We always decorate our clothes (75) with them, and also always adorn our hats with the acino. Since we also adorn our

75. Asai Erin informs me that the loom-woven jackets worn by the Atayal are frequently covered with these shell beads.

necks, we look all the more beautiful. The rich always have many acino, and the poor, few. We always use these acino in the settling of accounts. One acino equals one sickle; ten acino equal ten sickles. This is no different from present day money. What we call one piece (76) equals one ten-sen silver coin; ten pieces equal one yen. We

76. Refers to the acino.

call ten pieces one tunux, and this is no different from our present day money. What we call a yen the old people called a tunux."

19: Guérin and Bernard--558 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 436

The savage money consists of little white cylinders, like those made of jet, and they are made of the bony parts of certain kinds of fish; when strung on a chaplet, they are worn around the throat and head as if they were jewels; they are marked when they are given to the aborigines, and are arranged in series on pieces of red material.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 292, 436, 177 Atayal

If such foreign ornaments [MC: i. e. brass rings and glass beads from Japan] have been taken over by the women, the men have kept for themselves the characteristic old ornamental dress. These "things set with precious materials", as the Atayal description runs, have three sizes, which are worn as arm or leg coverings, kinrai, or as a doublet, bintoan, or as a sleeveless jacket, rokosch-kaha. They consist of material dyed red, on which is fastened small pieces of pierced fish-bone arranged in rows and geometrical designs. Since the fish are not to be found in the interior, and the making of these ornaments would be too tiresome and difficult for the Atayals, who have no tools, these ornaments, which the Chinese call schukun, are very highly prized, and their owners like to wear them on festive occasions because they give them a certain amount of prestige. These valuable and lasting, but unnecessary ornamental garments are used as money. The three sizes are worth respectively 3, 5, and 10 yen.

For all settlements and compensations, for the purchase of land by the clans, and the reimbursement of the prophetess, the Atayals have a definite means of exchange which has the same value for all of the Atayal tribes: the materials [MC: which are set] with precious things, which are usually of three kinds. [MC: See page 12 in category 116 or 436 for description] The general acceptance of this indigenous money is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made. [37] Ostensibly the Atayals have never wished to learn how to make these things. An old Taroku told me through the medium of the interpreter that they had gotten the precious materials long ago from white men, but the other Tarokus and all the Schimptonoffs denied the truth of this improbable tradition. If it were true, one would be forced to think of Spanish amulets. All the Atayals are agreed on this point, that they were once brought to them from outside, and that for a long time, there has been no new material. According to this, the same quantity of objects used as money, which presumably are fairly safe from the ravages of termites, has been in circulation among them since its introduction, and only the temporary owners change. This is very possible, in view of the fact that there is no economy based on earnings, and in view of the fact that there has been no increase in the population of the Atayals, as well as because of the stagnation of their culture. The objects used as money are the only possessions that do not follow their owner to the grave. Neither tribe nor clan has concerned itself with making of ornaments to be used as

money, nor have they attempted to fix the value of such ornaments, but nevertheless, they are the "legal" means by which all fines are paid. Together with language and customs, money is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals. The entire fortune of the Atayals consists of such money.

25: Plaut--33-34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 609, 656, 177.65 China
636.65

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

25: Plaut--41 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 684, 837 Atayal

The Atayal in the central part of Formosa punish the guilty wife and her lover by killing them at once. The seducer of a girl is also slain unless the girl's parents agree to accept ransom. The Atayal, who live farther north, make the adulterer give the injured husband between five and ten shell strings (the current money) or a weapon or other objects as compensation.

31: Hofmann--626-627 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 461, 804 Tsou

The natives do not know the value of money. They have several articles used for barter and pay, chiefly cloth. They measure length by spans. [627] Since they have a communist economy they pay by the day, so that the strongest man is hired as a carrier at the same price as the weakest boy. If a distinction were made, they would consider this unjust. In the same way they divide food among themselves so that everyone gets an equal share.

"The Yami have no use for money except as metal which is highly prized, especially silver which, like iron, seems to have been known to the islanders from the earliest times. (7) The former is beaten out into thin silver leaves with [24]

7. See below p. 39 (Legend of Imulud).

which they cover their characteristic large 'extinguisher' ceremonial helmets worn during the Flying-Fish Festival, which are handed down as a communal treasure from generation to generation."

39: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 436, 555, 622, 802 Atayal

The Atayals have a better idea of counting than they have of measuring time. Most of them, to be sure, can only count up to three or five, and that is sufficient for their purposes. Anyone who can count up to thirty is considered clever, and only a few individuals in the border tribes can count up to a hundred. Some of the Japanese maintain that a smart Atayal of the interior can count up to a thousand, but most people say that this is just talk. Most of the tribes are said to have names for numbers up to five only, and to count further by saying five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four. They have a special word for ten, and also for twenty and thirty. Some tribes are said to know more words for numbers, but they seem to have acquired them recently through Chinese or Japanese interpreters. Most of the clan heads can count this way up to twenty or thirty. If they need to go beyond that, they call in a wise man to help them, if fines are to be paid. They also have to count when they are fixing the prike of the bride or the price for adopted children. They count 25 rokosch-kaha, or 250 yen, by putting down 20 rokosch-kaha, or garments with precious [12] materials, and 10 bintoan, breastpieces with precious materials. Presumably the calculation is made at once in this way, and the reduction to a common denominator is made by the interpreter. In tribes that have lived for years inside the Aitu line, and that accept Japanese money, families will sell a rokosch-kaha together with their profit on it for 13 or 15 yen, because they can conceive only of 13 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 binrai, or 15 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 bintoan, but they can not imagine 11, 12, or 14 yen.